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HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Journal of Scientific Exploration, Vol. 31, No. 2 - **Telepathy, Mediumship, and Psychology: Psychical Research at the International Congresses of Psychology, 1889–1905 - Carlos S. Alvarado**

Telepathy, Mediumship, and Psychology: Psychical Research at the International Congresses of Psychology, 1889–1905

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Abstract—The development of psychology includes the rejection of concepts and movements some groups consider undesirable, such as psychical research. One such example was the way psychologists dealt with phenomena such as telepathy and mediumship in the first five international congresses of psychology held between 1889 and 1905. This included papers about telepathy and mediumship by individuals such as Gabriel Delanne, Léon Denis, Théodore Flournoy, Paul Joire, Léon Marillier, Frederic W. H. Myers, Julian Ochorowicz, Charles Richet, Eleanor M. Sidgwick, and Henry Sidgwick. These topics were eventually rejected from the congresses, and provide us with an example of the boundary-work psychologists were engaging in during that period to build their discipline. The height of such presentations took place at the 1900 congress, after which there was a marked decline in discussion on the topic which mirrored the rejection science at large showed for psychical research during the period in question.

Introduction

The purpose of this essay is to review the inclusion of psychical research in international congresses of psychology held from 1889 to 1905 as it appears in published conference proceedings. My aim is to give readers an idea of the topics presented at the time. This is particularly important because previous writings about psychic phenomena in the congresses have not given much attention to the content of the actual discussions about psychic phenomena (e.g., Benjamin & Baker 2012, Rosenzweig, Holtzman, Sabourin, & Bélanger 2000, Taves 2014). Furthermore, I will also comment about controversies, as discussed in the proceedings of the fourth conference, and about the eventual rejection of the topic from the congresses. The latter is related to the demarcation problem in discussions of science and so-called non-science or pseudoscience (Pigliucci & Boudry 2013) and to boundary work (Gieryn 1999).

Rejecting the Psychic

The story told in these congresses, particularly the 1900 meeting, is part of the rejection by the establishment of phenomena referred to in different times as spiritualistic, psychic, and supernormal. Bertrand Méheust (1999a) has argued that the French medical community stripped hypnosis of phenomena such as thought transmission without sensory means, assimilating in its canon only those features considered respectable. In his view, while "positivist savants reappropriated somnambulism, the mysterious phenomena described by the magnetizers after a century seemed to dissipate like a mirage" (Méheust 1999a:584; this and other translations are mine). Such tendency for psychology, medicine, and other fields to explain through conventional means, or to outright reject psychic phenomena, has been examined by others. Examples of this include examinations

of the rejection of psychical research related to institutions (Dommeyer 1975), specific individuals (Le Maléfan 2002), research programs (Mauskopf & McVaugh 1980), and specific investigations (Parot 1993).[1]

The eventual rejection of psychical research from the international congresses of psychology is an example of the field's rejection and ambivalent position within psychology (on these issues see Alvarado 2014, Coon 1992, Marmin 2001, Sommer 2012, 2013). Psychologists' attempts at professionalization led them to separate themselves from other knowledge claims and perspectives that they felt threatened their status. They engaged in boundary-work, where there is an active defense of practice, methods, and concepts "for the purpose of drawing a rhetorical boundary between science and some less authoritative residual non-science" (Gieryn 1999:4–5). Nineteenth-century psychologists, as argued by Burnham (1987:91) in the American context, were establishing themselves as scientists by combatting popular and spiritual claims about the mind. This also applied to psychical research work, as psychologists, who were struggling to get their discipline accepted in academia, felt its scientific status threatened by attention to psychic phenomena (Coon 1992, Sommer 2012, 2013, Taves 2014).

The eventual disappearance of psychical research from the psychology congresses represented what has been characterized as the "expulsion of intruders" (Paicheler 1992:248), as well as the separation "between the acceptable and the unacceptable in psychology" (Le Maléfan 1995:624). Such expulsion took place mainly in the 1900 congress (Taves 2014).

The Background to the Congresses and Psychical Research

The appearance of the international congresses during the late nineteenth century was part of the professionalization of psychology as seen in the creation of various institutions and journals, and the development of many specialties in the field. By the beginning of the 1880s, a writer was able to list specialties such as criminal, general, mathematical, pathological, pedagogical, physiological, psychophysical, and zoological psychology (Ochorowicz 1881).

There was also a variety of investigative practices that defined psychology in different ways (e.g., Carroy & Plas 1996, Danzinger 1990). Laboratory studies of psychophysical processes, particularly important in Germany, were one of the main developments of the times (Ribot 1879). Another important current was the clinical specialty. This included French studies of hypnosis and its phenomena that were one of the main topics of the early congresses (Alvarado 2010). Examples of work in this area were the publications of Jean-Martin Charcot (1825–1893), Charles Richet (1850–1935) (Charcot 1882, Richet 1883), and several other scholars (e.g., Bernheim 1884, Gilles de la Tourette 1887).[2] This, and phenomena such as amnesia, somnambulism, double and multiple personality, and mental mediumship, contributed greatly to the development of ideas about the subconscious mind (for overviews, see Crabtree 1993 and Ellenberger 1970).

Julian Ochorowicz

These, and other developments, were to some extent behind the organization of the congresses.[3] Before the first congress, philosopher and psychologist Julian Ochorowicz (1850–1917; see photo) had suggested that the organization of psychology could be greatly assisted by a congress of psychology following the model of congresses from other disciplines (Ochorowicz 1881).[4] This first congress took place in Paris in 1889, the year of the universal exposition that featured the Eiffel Tower (*Les Merveilles de l'Exposition de 1889* no date). Furthermore, this year saw in France important developments related to psychic phenomena and to the idea of the subconscious mind, as seen in the field of hypnosis (e.g., Janet 1889, Liébeault 1889). But such developments in the study of subconscious activity were not limited to France (e.g., Dessoir 1889, James 1889b).

Another development of particular importance to the topic of this paper was the study of psychic or supernormal phenomena that came to be called in England, and other countries, "psychical research." Influenced by mesmeric phenomena such as magnetic healing and clairvoyance, a long tradition of tales about apparitions and haunted houses, and phenomena from Spiritualism such as mediumistic communications and materializations of spirit forms, organized psychical research developed during the latter part of the nineteenth

century. By this time the still new field had gone through important developments in many countries, such as the founding of the London-base d Society for Psychical Research (SPR).[5]

The work of the SPR was particularly important in setting new evidential standards and a more systematic approach to the study of cases (such as apparitions), mediums, and the performance of experimental studies. A main focus of the SPR was telepathy, which included experiments (e.g., Sidgwick, Sidgwick, & Smith 1889) and case studies. The best known early example of the latter was *Phantasms of the Living* (Gurney, Myers, & Podmore 1886), of which the main thesis was that telepathic messages could be expressed through hallucinations representing different sensory modalities.

Another important aspect of the SPR was the influential work of classical scholar Frederic W. H. Myers (1843– 1901), who by 1889 had published various papers on his ideas about the subliminal mind and the concept of motor and sensory automatisms as the means through which the subliminal could communicate with the supraliminal, or conscious mind (Myers 1884, 1885, 1887, 1889a). Such messages, which included flashes of creativity and telepathy, could "float up into superficial consciousness as deeds, visions, words, ready-made and full-blown, without any accompanying perception of the elaborative process which has made them what they are" (Myers 1889a:524; see photo).[6]

F. W. H. Myers

Many psychical researchers challenged the current scientific paradigm that assumed that sensory and motor functioning was confined to the workings of the human body. One writer stated about telepathy that "there is hardly any longer room for doubt that we have something here which no physical process at present known can adequately account for" (Podmore 1894:382).

If this was not enough, many psychical researchers were also interested in the ultimate challenge to the physicalistic paradigm, the question of survival of death. While some presented overviews of different types of phenomena and arguments supporting spirit agency (e.g., Aksakof 1890/no date), others focused on specific phenomena. For example, the SPR published studies of mental mediums (e.g., Lodge 1890), as well as systematic discussions of cases of apparitions of the dead (e.g., Myers 1889b).

In France, where the first congress took place, there was much interest in the topic (Lachapelle 2011, Plas 2000). An internationally influential publication was Richet's (1884) pioneering study of mental suggestion, in which he analyzed his results statistically, and explored the effectiveness of a variety of targets and the use of motor automatisms as a vehicle of expression of the hypothesized mental transmission.[7] In 1885 a group of scholars founded the Sociétè de Psychologie Physiologique. Presided over by Charcot, and having Richet as Secretary, the Society included psychical research among its interests (Plas 2000:54–55). In addition, several members of this society—such as Pierre Janet (1859–1947), Ochorowicz, and Richet—were involved in the first psychology congress.

The activities of the Société were indicative of the interaction between psychology and psychical research during the nineteenth century, as were the studies of men such as Janet, Richet, and others who conducted both psychological and psychical research work (Plas 2000). Early lists of members of the SPR included eminent psychologists, philosophers, and physicians interested in different aspects of the mind and its manifestations (List of Members and Associates 1889). The fact that the SPR had contacts with all of these influential scientists and scholars showed that the Society was well connected to psychology, but this does not change the fact that the SPR, and psychical research at large, was not an established part of psychology.

While the contributions of the SPR about dissociation and the workings of the subconscious mind (Alvarado 2002) were welcome by many, probably most did not accept the rest of their work. Myers was cited by well-known psychologists (e.g., Binet 1892:299, Janet 1889:392, 394, 403), but his influence was limited to the psychology of automatic writing and the subconscious mind, and not to phenomena such as telepathy. For these authors, and for psychology at large, there was a difference between Myers as a psychologist and as a psychical researcher (or his emphasis on telepathy, veridical apparitions, and mediumistic communications). Myers, of course, was aware of this. In a unpublished letter he wrote to Richet, he stated that he was conscious of his own "psychological heterodoxy" (Myers 1891).

Psychical research had many enemies among psychologists. A prominent example was psychologist Joseph Jastrow (1863–1944), who stated that the study of psychic phenomena "has . . . contributed an interesting chapter to the natural history of error . . . " (Jastrow 1889:81).

Jastrow questioned the training of psychical researchers to conduct their work (see also Scripture 1897). Others referred to improper methodology or conventional explanations to justify doubts about the evidence for telepathy (e.g., Hall 1887, Titchener 1898).

Other phenomena were explained via conventional concepts. Several authors had psychological views about mediumship based on dissociation and subconscious activity (e.g., Binet 1892, Janet 1889). This literature, as well as that which pathologized the figure of the medium (Le Maléfan 1999), did much to eclipse the views of veridical mediumship supported by many psychical researchers.

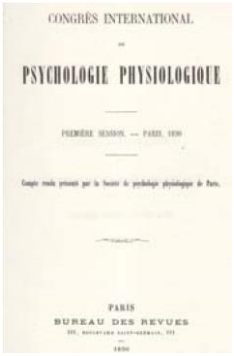
While I have emphasized the negative, neglecting the supportive comments and work of many others (e.g., James 1896, Ochorowicz 1887), the fact is that by the time the congresses started, psychical research was at best a controversial discipline far from being accepted as part of psychology by many of its professionals.

The International Congresses of Psychology

The 1889 Congress

The first congress was held in Paris August 6–10, 1889 (Congrès International de Psychologie Physiologique 1890; see photo).[8] Called originally Congrès International de Psychologie Physiologique (International Congress of Physiological Psychology), its title was changed during the congress to International Congress of Experimental Psychology. Nonetheless, the published proceedings kept the original name. While Charcot was the president, he did not attend the congress and his place was taken by Théodule Ribot (1839–1916). Richet acted as Secretary.

While many topics were discussed, some of the main ones were heredity, muscular sense, hallucinations, and hypnotism. Psychical research was discussed in sessions about the last two topics. As William James (42–1910) wrote in his short report about the congress in the journal *Mind*: "The most striking feature of the discussions was, perhaps, their tendency to slope off to some or other of those shady horizons with which the name of 'psychic research' is now associated" (James 1889a:615). In this context, it is interesting to notice that several of the congress' attendees wrote about psychic phenomena in a positive way, either before or after the congress. Among them were Alexandre Baréty (1844–1918), Henri Bourru (1840–1914), Prosper Burot (1849–1888), Charles Richet, and Albert de Rochas (1837–1914), all from France, and William James (United States), Frederic W. H. Myers (England), Julian Ochorowicz (Poland), and Albert von Schrenck-Notzing (1862–1929, Germany).


CONGRÈS INTERNATIONAL
DE
PSYCHOLOGIE PHYSIOLOGIQUE
PARIS
BUREAU DES REVUES

Cover of Proceedings of First Congress 1889

Psychical research seems to have entered the congress thanks to Richet, who, at the time, was eminent both in physiological as well as in psychical research. He was a member of the above-mentioned Société de Psychologie Physiologique involved in the planning of the meeting. Henry Sidgwick (1838–1900), a well-known English philosopher who was President of the SPR, had the following entry in his diary for March 25, 1892:

> Prof. Richet, our friend and colleague in S.P.R. matters, got up a 'Congress of Physiological Psychology' in Paris and asked us to come to it. We came out of simple friendship; but when we arrived we found that the ingenious Richet designed to bring the SPR to glory at this Congress. And this, to some degree, came about.[9] (Sidgwick & Sidgwick 1906:515)

As seen in the proceedings, French researcher Léon Marillier (1862–1901), one of the congresses secretaries, announced a survey of hallucinations that the SPR was conducting (Marillier 1890b).[10] Marillier also discussed the subject in a different presentation. The data collected by the SPR, he said, "seem to establish that frequent coincidences exist between hallucinations and real facts" (Marillier 1890c:44).

One of the best aspects of this, and other proceedings, is the presentation of discussions between the attendees. An example is a session about the SPR's work on hallucinations. Richet stated that some members of the congress wanted to discuss telepathy, to which Janet suggested that Myers could speak about it. Myers spoke and summarized the SPR's thoughttransference experiments. He stated his belief that there was good evidence for the existence of the phenomenon, while recognizing that it could not be produced at will. "If such mental transmission is true," Richet stated, "it will constitute . . . one of the greatest discoveries of the times" (Statistique des Hallucinations 1890:153).

However, and indicative of a general incredulity about such phenomena, Marillier (1889) stated in a report of the conference that members of the Congress had not yet reached the point to "allow for the formation of a defi nitive opinion" on the subject (p. 545). He further said that the offi cers of the congress decided to have "an international committee, charged with comparing the results of investigations made in various countries and to prepare a report for the next congress. Such commission is composed of . . . Sidgwick, Grote, W. James, von Schrenck-Notzing, and Marillier" (p. 544).

Marillier (1890a) was concerned with the control of sensory cues in experimental explorations of telepathy. He was particularly worried about preventing the possibility that experimenters could give "any sign that the subject may interpret, consciously or unconsciously" (p. 17).

In the discussion of another section in the congress about hypnosis, Myers continued to present summaries of SPR work. This time he discussed Edmund Gurney's (1847–1888) experiments offering evidence for the existence of a mesmeric emanation capable of causing sensations on the hands of human subjects (e.g., Gurney 1884).[11] However, as seen in the proceedings, the implications of these studies to support the existence of physical effl uvia met with skepticism. French physician Gilbert Ballet (1853– 1916) and Belgian philosopher Joseph Delboeuf (1831–1896) prefered to interpret the results as the infl uence of heat from the mesmerizer's hands (De la Sensibilité Hypnotique 1890). Their reactions represent the skeptical tradition prevalent at the time about the existence of animal magnetism as a force projecting from the body of the magnetizer (Alvarado 2009b).

The 1892 Congress

This congress was held in London and it had two leading SPR members as important offi cers (International Congress of Experimental Psychology 1892a). Sidgwick was the president of both the SPR and the congress, while Myers was the congress' Secretary.

There is evidence that Sidgwick was somewhat worried about his and the SPR's involvement in the congress. Before the congress, he wrote to a friend that he was expecting to "have the delicate and diffi cult task of persuading the orthodox psychologists to regard 'Psychical Research' as a legitimate branch of experimental psychology!" (Sidgwick & Sidgwick 1906:513). Furthermore, he wrote in his diary:

> Behold me, then, President-elect of a Congress of experimental Psychologists—most of them stubborn materialists, interested solely in psychophysical experiments on the senses; whereas *I* have never experimented except in telepathy. Water and fi re, oil and vinegar, are feeble to express our antagonism! (Sidgwick & Sidgwick 1906:516)

Sidgwick's strategy was to recruit psychologist James Sully (1843– 1923) to manage the congress on the psychology side, while he, with Myers, would "provide the extraordinary element" (Sidgwick & Sidgwick 1906:516).[12]

In a summary of the meeting written for the SPR, H. Sidgwick (1892a) stated that "the representatives of our Society have claimed a place for their special investigations, as a recognized department of the scientifi c study of psychology, and have their claim admitted without opposition" (p. 284). Nonetheless, Sidgwick was careful to state that he did not think that telepathy was generally accepted by psychologists. Furthermore, he expressed anxiety at the possibility that anyone could believe that people attending the congress were "even in the most indirect way committed to a view in favour of the conclusions which the workers of our Society have put forward" (p. 284).

In fact, German psychologist Wilhelm Wundt (1832–1920) expressed worries about Sidgwick's infl uence. Wundt (1892/2000:24) believed that under the disguise of statistics of hallucinations, clairvoyance would

probably be the main topic at the congress. H. Sidgwick (1892b) answered Wundt in his opening address at the congress stating that Wundt was "rather wide of the mark" in giving opinions about "matters on which he is determined to seek no information" (p. 2). In fact, Sidgwick stated that he was interested in offering a balanced program, one representative of psychology at large (see also H. Sidgwick 1892a). But the incident is indicative of the worries one eminent psychologist had in having SPR infl uences at the congress.[13]

During the course of the fi rst day of the meeting, Richet (1892) read a paper about the future of psychology. He identifi ed several promising areas. The fi rst three were brain physiology, the study of sensation, and the relationship of man to other beings, to the insane, and to criminals. The fi nal area chosen by Richet was what he decided to call "transcendental psychology," or psychical research. This involved the supposition that "human intelligence has extraordinary resources" (p. 25) such as clairvoyance and thought-transference. Richet expressed his hope that future studies would show if this area was either a reality or an illusion.

Like the previous congresses, this one had discussions about the study of hallucinations. Henry Sidgwick (1892c) informed the congress attendees that out of 17,000 answers, 1, 272 replied affi rmatively to the basic question about hallucinations. He mentioned the existence of collective hallucinations and recognized the possibility that some of them could have taken place due to verbal suggestions. But he believed there were "other cases in which no transference of ideas appears possible except one that takes place otherwise than through the ordinary channels of sense" (p. 61). Such cases suggested telepathy. Sidgwick further wrote:

> This hypothesis is, in the view of the Committee, supported by the results of the present collection. The . . . most important part of . . . [the evidence] consists in cases of human apparitions, coinciding with the death of the person whom they represent, under circumstances which exclude the supposition that they were due to anxiety or any similar emotion of the percipient. (Sidgwick 1892c:61)

Marillier (1892) reported on the survey of hallucinations conducted in France, as well as in Belgium and Switzerland, and some other countries. Out of 54 veridical hallucinations, 35 were reported fi rst-hand and 19 were second-hand. But it was not possible to obtain independent confi rmation of the testimony. Marillier was not as positive of his data about the telepathic hypothesis as Sidgwick was of his.

Another presentation appearing in the proceedings was a short note about the hallucinations collected in the United States, in which out of 6,311 answers, 13.5% were positive (The Statistical Inquiry into Hallucinations in America 1892). Furthermore, there were interesting discussions on the topic. American psychologist Christine Ladd-Franklin (1847–1930)[14] stated: "That if the hallucinatory apparition was of a person known to be ill—even if the knowledge were not accompanied by anxiety—the chances against the coincidence of hallucination and death would be very much reduced" (Discussion Remarks 1892:68). Henry Sidgwick replied:

> That no doubt the chances would be somewhat reduced in this case: since, if the percipient's state of health at the time were such as to cause a hallucination, it would perhaps be more likely to take the form of a friend known to be ill than of one known to be well. But mere knowledge without anxiety could not be regarded as a *vera causa* of hallucinations: therefore, if—as was most frequently the case in his collection—the hallucination was the percipient's only experience of the kind, the chances would still be very much against its coinciding accidently with the death of a friend. (Discussion Remarks 1892:69)

During the congress, the issue of the possible pathology of hallucinations was discussed (Discussion Remarks 1892:67), a topic emphasized by Janet (1892:615) in a conference report. But telepathic hallucinations were not included in the discussion.

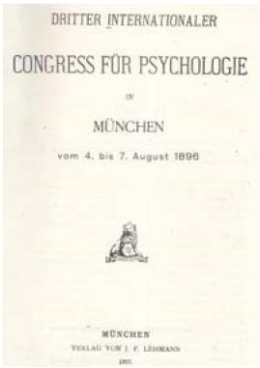
The concept of telepathy received further discussion in the congress in a paper by Myers (1892a) about sensory automatisms. Finally, Eleanor Sidgwick (1845–1936), an important early SPR researcher and wife of Henry Sidgwick, presented a report of SPR thought-transference experiments under hypnosis (Mrs. H. Sidgwick 1892).[15]

The 1896 Congress

The third congress was held in Munich under the presidency of Carl Stumpf (1848–1936), with Schrenck-Notzing as General Secretary (Dritter Internationaler Congress für Psychologie 1897).[16] The papers in the proceedings were grouped under topics, among them the psychology of normal individuals, physiological topics, comparative and educational psychology.

Although the offi cial report of the SPR's study of hallucinations had already been published (Sidgwick et al. 1894), there were more discussions about it. Representing the SPR, Eleanor M. Sidgwick discussed the issue of chance to account for hallucinations coinciding with a distant death. After discussing statistical issues, she stated (as recorded in the proceedings; see photo of cover):

> The number of coincidences cannot . . . be accounted for by chance; and, as in about a third of the cases, the percipient was unaware of the illness, and in another third was in no anxiety, we conclude that they cannot be accounted for by the mind of the percipient being specially occupied with the agent. Even in the cases was or may have been anxiety, the where there is duration of the anxiety the interval between the hallucinations compared with the shortness of coincidences as a whole to anxiety only, and the death makes it for though anxiety is to some extent a favouring condition tistical inquiry hallucination. We conclude, therefore, that the sta- . . . . (Mrs. H. Sidgwick 1897:391–supports the hypothesis of telepathy 392)


DRITTER INTERNATIONALER
CONGRESS FÜR PSYCHOLOGIE
IN
MÜNCHEN
vom 4. bis 7. August 1896
MÜNCHEN

Cover of Proceedings of Third Congress 1896

In the discussion that followed, Mrs. Sidgwick read a letter sent by William James about the American statistics on hallucinations. James stated that "apparitions on the day of death are, according to our statistics, 487 times more numerous than pure chance ought to make them" (James 1897:393). However, regardless of this, there were 12 cases of veridical hallucinations, and only 5 of these had corroboration. James added that: "The veridical cases are not strong . . . Only fi ve have any corroboration, and in no case it is fi rst rate. Our best cases are not among these 12" (p. 394).

In critical comments printed in the proceedings, one author argued that the statistics were not convincing (Bager-Sjögren 1897), and that associations of thought could account for the cases, an objection presented by Edmund Parish (Discussion Remarks 1897:402–403).[17] Richet was of the opinion that the issue was not only about statistical analysis, but also about the details of the witnesses testimony. In his opinion both aspects corroborated each other and, together, suggested the existence of veridical hallucinations (Discussion Remarks 1897:402).

Finally, the proceedings includes discussions about unconscious whispering as an explanation of thought-transference experiments (H. Sidgwick 1897a), and about the subconscious imagination of mediums (Flournoy 1897), both of which were published in greater detail in places other than the conference proceedings (Flournoy 1899, Sidgwick 1897b). There is also a summary of a paper about mental suggestion by hypnosis pioneer Ambroise-Auguste Liébeault (1823–1904) that was not presented because he did not attend the congress (Liébeault 1897).[18]

Years later, it was revealed that there had been some inside opposition to psychic phenomena in the congress. Stumpf (1930), the congress' president, stated in an autobiographical essay: "I endeavored to prevent hypnotic and occult phenomena from occupying the foreground, as had been the case in former sessions" (p. 404).[19]

The 1900 Congress

This congress took place in Paris, and had more papers about psychical research topics than previous ones (Janet 1901). In the words of a commentator: "Psychical research was thoroughly ventilated at the Congress" (Woodworth 1900:606).

Ribot (see photo) was the President, Richet the Vice President, and Janet the General Secretary and the proceedings' editor.[20] As in previous meetings, the program refl ected many areas of psychology, among them anatomical and physiological studies, and pathology. In addition, that year's program included reports on cases that interested both psychologists and psychical researchers. These were cases of a Spanish threeyear-old child prodigy specializing in playing the piano and composing (Richet 1901), of a mathematical prodigy (Bryan 1901), and of multiple personality (Prince 1901).[21]

Ribot's presidential address, while addressing the whole range of psychological specialties such as physiological studies, referred to the founding of a new organization which had in its program the "phenomena that the London Society [the SPR] proposes to call 'super-normal,'—a more appropriate term than supernatural,—that are the advanced, adventurous parties of experimental psychology, but not the less enticing" (Ribot 1901:46). This organization, the Institut Psychologique International (later named Institut Générale Psychologique), was also mentioned by others during the congress (Flournoy 1901, Ochorowicz 1901). While the history of this group remains to be written, its work brought together many prominent individuals to develop a psychological institution that paid attention to the supernormal. However, as time went by the supernormal became less frequent in the bulletin of the institute.[22]

Théodule Ribot

Several interesting papers related to psychical research were presented in a session of the congress called "Studies About the Phenomena of Somnambulism." Swiss psychologist Théodore Flournoy (1854–1920) presented a summary of his work with medium Hélène Smith, with emphasis on the production of a written Martian script.[23] He discussed the case to illustrate the existence of "subliminal imagination," or the creative potential of the subconscious mind, and its importance to psychology. Other studies focused on English medium Rosalie Thompson (born 1868), who, according to an observer, "was present at the meetings, and certainly did not give one the impression of anything abnormal or uncanny" (Woodworth 1900:606). Dutch researcher and psychotherapist Frederik van Eeden (1860–1932, see photo) discussed many veridical communications obtained with this medium (van Eeden 1901). Mrs. Thompson was the subject of other papers appearing in the proceedings (Myers 1901, Verrall 1901), but according to Myers (1900) the last two papers were not read at the congress due to lack of time.[24] A conference attendee later expressed skepticism about the veridical material obtained with Thompson. In his view, it was "impossible to follow M. van Eden [sic] in his extraordinary explanation" (Vaschide 1900:801).

Frederick van Eeden

Myers (1901) stated that he had "good reason for ascribing many of these messages to defi nite surviving personalities" (p. 120). However, he was aware that his claim was controversial in the context of the congress. As he wrote: "These ideas are far removed from ordinary scientifi c experience. It may still seem, I fear, almost impertinent to offer them for the consideration of a Congress of *savants*" (p. 120).

The rest of the papers relevant to psychical research appeared as part of a section of the congress entitled "Psychology of Hypnotism, of Suggestion, and Related Matters." Hippolyte Bernheim (1840–1919), professor at the Faculty of Medicine at Nancy, and one of the main fi gures on the French hypnosis scene, was the President of the section.[25] Table 1 includes the topics of several of the papers I will not comment in the text.

In one of the papers in this section, physician and hypnotist Paul Joire (born 1856) argued that psychic phenomena, such as exteriorization of force from the body, had not been suffi ciently investigated (Joire 1901b).[26] In his view there were three reasons supporting the existence of psychic phenomena. These were the fact that they have been recorded in different time periods, that there were recent observations in their support, and that there were studies by scientists on the subject.

In addition to forces believed to be projected from the human body, Joire (1901a) defended the idea that magnets could exert actions on human bodies by means "different from all suggestion" (p. 619). Similarly, Hippolyte Baraduc (1850–1909) discussed some of his ideas

TABLE 1

Additional Papers Related to Psychical Research in the 1900 Paris Congress

Reference	Topic
Dariex (1901)	Movement of objects without contact with a medium
Encausse (1901a)	Instruments for the study of mediums
Encausse (1901b)	Transfer of sensations and motor phenomena from one side of the body to the other using magnets
Ferrari (1901)	Thought-transference performances explained as the interpretation of muscular movements
Gibier (1901)	Mediumistic materialization of phenomena
Pascal (1901)	Astral body as vehicle of consciousness
Purdon (1901)	Transference of pulse pattern from one person to another in close proximity
Stannard (1901)	Evidence for survival of death

about emanating "vibrations" or forces from the human body that acted differently if they came from the right or from the left side of the body (Baraduc 1901). Such presentations led a commentator to say in a conference report that: "Baraduc and others expounded queer ideas and demonstrated queerer-seeming facts relating to 'psychic exteriorisation,' etc." (Woodworth 1900:606).

French spiritists were represented at the congress by two leaders of the movement, Gabriel Delanne (1857–1926) and Léon Denis (1846–1927).[27] Both presented papers in which they used the expression "experimental psychology" in their titles. Delanne (1901) argued for the expansion of experimental psychology to phenomena such as telepathy that showed the existence of "extra-corporeal manifestations of man" (p. 610). He cited the work of psychical researchers as evidence that had established that thought could be exteriorized from mind to mind without the use of the senses. In addition, Delanne believed that studies of Italian medium Eusapia Palladino (1854–1918) proved the existence of materialized forms. He referred in particular to tests in which imprints of faces and hands were obtained when the medium's spirit control was asked to affect soft plaster placed at a distance.[28] Denis (1901) expressed similar views to Delanne's in a paper appearing in the proceedings. The "psychic being," he stated, "is not confi ned to the limits of the body, but it is susceptible to exteriorization and release" (p. 614).

In her book *Naissance d'une Science Humaine,* historian Régina Plas (2000) commented that Delanne's and Dennis's use of the expression "experimental psychology" at the congress was a strategy to combat psychologists on their own turf and an attempt to obtain legitimation by association. In her view, spiritists were trying during this congress to "occupy part of the territory in constant expansion of this positive psychology" (p. 36).[29] This is consistent with Delanne's (1902) statement that, at the congress, spiritists faced "materialism right in its own temple" (p. 40).

This brings us to the topic of opposition to psychic phenomena during the congress. Writing in the *Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research,* Frederik van Eeden (1900) stated that the work of the SPR was not opposed during the congress, and that, in fact, it found a "more general acknowledgement and approbation than at any of the three previous congresses" (p. 445). In his view psychical research had gained wide acceptance and its researchers were "no longer considered . . . cranks, or scientifi c outlaws . . . ." (p.

447).[30] Van Eeden was arguing this from personal experience, since he attended the congress, and had conversations with many of the congress's attendees. However, there are reasons to believe his view was, at best, incomplete.

In his paper, Flournoy (1901) referred to the attitude of individuals who did not like psychic phenomena considered at the congress. Some, he said, considered the topic "compromising" and did not welcome it. Flournoy noticed that the papers on the subject were "prudently hidden under the ingenious rubric of *related matters* . . . ." (p. 102). But, he continued, "you will forgive me when I call a spade a spade, and admit that underneath 'related matters' are actually hidden spiritism, occultism, and other pet peeves of contemporary scientifi c psychology" (pp. 102–103). Flournoy was aware that some would be worried that the interest of members of the above-mentioned newly founded Institute on psychic phenomena would be perceived as "horrible things," and as the "way to perdition" (p. 103). But he did not share such negative feelings, believing in the importance of empirical studies of psychic phenomena. After the congress, Flournoy wrote to William James in a letter dated August 27, 1900, about aspects of conference presentations related to psychical research. In his opinion, the presentations on the subject "very much scandalized the narrow-minded anatomophysiological group" (Le Clair 1966:103).[31]

That things were not as positive as van Eeden reported can be seen from the reactions of several congress attendees. Romanian physician Nicolas Vaschide (1874–1907)[32] characterized Delanne and Denis's papers as mere words. In his view, those dealing with "occult sciences" seemed to him to lack "real scientifi c knowledge, and their observations, made in really unscientifi c conditions, are based on their feelings or on the phenomenon of belief" (Vaschide 1901:617). Delanne and Denis, he continued, merely presented "literary impressions, confessions, some opinions of faith, mixed with a regrettable ignorance of scientifi c documents . . . ." (p. 617). Vaschide (1900) was also critical of the spiritists in a conference report published in the *Revue de Métaphysique et de Morale*. As he wrote: "The different chapels of occult science ostensibly connected to experimental psychology will sound its bells in vain from the beyond . . . ." (p. 816).

German physician Oskar Vogt (1870–1959) presented a paper criticizing Spiritism (Vogt 1901).[33] He was clearly unhappy about the attempts of spiritists to get recognition by using the "name of science and psychology in general" (p. 656). He felt that psychology had much to suffer from its association with Spiritism because psychology had just obtained recognition regarding hypnotism and other topics. Talking about the section "Psychology of Hypnotism, of Suggestion, and Related Matters," Vogt stated that "spiritists invaded our section and compromised it with their anti-scientifi c communications" (p. 656). Such view was shared by a French psychologist who wrote a few years later referring to the "invasion of the 1900 psychology Congress by the spiritists" (Piéron 1905:42).

Other congress attendees were equally negative, as seen from the following discussion remarks:

> Dr. P. Valentin (**Paris**) If the spiritists rested on science, they would, to avoid a regrettable confusion, defi ne exactly the words *psychism* and *psychic*.
>
> M. Ebbinghaus (**Breslau**) sincerely deplores that the foreign savants came from afar to a Congress of scientifi c psychology to assist in those discussions . . . . [The spiritists'] theories do not deserve the honor of discussion, for the time spent is lost for useful studies.
>
> M. Tokarsky (**Moscow**) protests in the name of science against ideas that pretend to be scientifi c . . . . [Spiritists need to] provide facts in place of their imaginary theories . . . .
>
> M. Hartenberg (**Paris**) . . . . The principal object of our section consists in the study of the psychological mechanism of hypnotism, of suggestion, of psychotherapy. It would be fi ne if our sessions were devoted to such issues, that are more useful in practice than theoretical dissertations about spiritism. I request that issues of spiritism, telepathy, super-normal phenomena, are placed apart during the next Congress.
>
> (Discussion 1901:662–663)

Bernheim (1901:645, all quotes) presented additional comments about the "issue of psychic or paranormal phenomena." Like others in the congress, he asked for facts and not theories. Bernheim was not convinced of the reality of psychic phenomena even after having made his own observations of "subjects" and mediums because there were always "causes or error that impeded certitude." Furthermore, he believed that the human

mind could suffer from "illusion of the senses . . . deformations of recollections . . . [and] errors of interpretation" that caused doubts about the adequacy of human testimony.

Interestingly, papers about psychic phenomena in the program of this congress came from different groups having different evidential standards. The papers of Myers (1901), van Eeden (1901), and Verrall (1901) were more empirical than the papers by Delanne (1901), Denis (1901), and Pascal (1901). This brings us to consider the existence of different layers of belief and methodological emphasis within those concerned with psychic phenomena. As Hess (1993:145) has argued, ideas of boundary-work can be expanded to include differences within particular groups.[34] In our case, there was also boundary-work between believers in psychic phenomena. An illustration of this in the fourth congress was Myers'views. Perhaps Myers (1900) had Delanne, Denis, and some of the papers listed in Table 1 in mind when he wrote about separating SPR work from other approaches:

> We must learn to submit to hearing our own achievements exaggerated,— and at the same time mixed up with narratives and opinions for which we have no intention whatever of making ourselves responsible . . . . and to insist that our object is still to stimulate inquiry far more than to propagate beliefs. We are not missionaries, but researchers.[35] (Myers 1900:448)

Myers' view was not represented in the conference proceedings. But I doubt that Bernheim and the like agreed with him. It is unlikely that many psychologists, who were already skeptical on the topic, distinguished SPR work from the writings of Delanne, Denis, Baraduc, and others. In fact, it is likely that they were as embarrassed by SPR work, as Myers was bothered by the above-mentioned papers. After all, probably few psychologists at the time would have felt sympathy or respect for Myers's (1901) statement in the proceedings:

> I claim that a spirit exists in man . . . itself the enjoying an increased freedom and vision, and also thereby allowing some departed spirit to make use of the partially vacated organism for the sake of communication with other spirits still incarnate on earth. (Myers 1901:114)

The 1905 Congress

The fi fth congress took place at Rome under the presidency of Giuseppe Sergi (1841–1936) (De Sanctis, 1906).[36] While some papers touched on psychic topics, there were considerably fewer than in the previous meeting.

As in the second congress (Richet 1892), Richet (1906) had a paper about the future of psychology, but his paper, while printed in the proceedings, was not read. Richet used the expression "occult psychology," but he stated in the address that he preferred the term "metapsychics," which he suggested in his presidential address to the SPR in February of 1905 (Richet 1905), and popularized after the congress in his celebrated *Traité de Métapsychique* (Richet 1922). Richet argued that there were no contradictions between scientifi c facts and metapsychic phenomena, there was only lack of knowledge. He wrote that "the facts of metapsychics, if they are real, should be studied honestly, methodologically, without hostility . . . ." (Richet 1906:172). Nonetheless, Richet was well aware that many individuals considered the topic to be a strange one.[37]

Other papers focused on the concept of vital forces capable of being projected from the body. One author defended the existence of a "vital electro-magnetism" (Gasc Desfossés 1906), while another discussed thought-transference as a function of a vital fi eld projecting "psychoneurotic energy" (Del Torto 1906). The force was said to be particularly strong in the hypnotized and in the hysteric. In the discussion, the idea was strongly criticized for being based on imagination as opposed to empirical evidence (Tamburini 1906).

Following tests such as those of Gurney (1884), the effects of magnetic passes were explored, and the report included successful effects (presumably after suggestion was controlled for) for the production of a variety of sensations on human subjects, such as feelings of tingling and of coldness (Courtier 1906). In another paper the research question was inspired by the possibility of establishing if the hand of a hypnotist had an effect due to a force independent of suggestion (Favre 1906). Tests were done to affect microbes and seeds, fi nding that the right hand accelerated the growth of grains while the left hand hindered the growth of microbes.[38]

Only two other papers included material relevant to psychic phenomena. One of them was about instrumental tests of involuntary movements possibly related to thought-transference performances

(d'Allonnes 1906), while the other considered supernormal phenomena in relation to the origin and development of religious belief (Marzorati 1906).

The congress was criticized later for its materialistic stance (Carreras 1905). It was suggested that spiritists did not attend the congress because they felt antagonism. Furthermore, it was argued that there were attempts to "recur to all kinds of ruses in order to prevent the few spiritists present at the Congress from reading their communications" (p. 654).

Concluding Remarks

The content of the fi rst fi ve congresses discussed here show the presence of psychical research in their programs. I have attempted to present a more detailed summary of some of these papers than that found in previous accounts in order to inform current readers about the actual discussions and presentations that took place at the time. Nonetheless, not all papers were summarized due to space limitations.

The fact that some papers on topics such as veridical hallucinations and mediumship were admitted to the congresses, and that the 1892 congress had Sidgwick and Myers as its President and Secretary, shows some level of acceptance, or tolerance, by the establishment. But it is clear that acceptance of papers in the congress did not mean acceptance of the reality of phenomena beyond conventional principles. The objections presented at the third and fourth congress are an example of this. These discussions show that psychical research was far from being accepted as a part of psychology during the nineteenth century and later, a topic discussed by others as well (e.g., Alvarado 2014, Coon 1992, Mauskopf & McVaugh 1980:Chapter 3, Sommer 2012, Wolffram 2009).

The situation was not as simple as Boring (1950) stated, who believed that emphasis on psychical research at the 1892 congress "led to a defi nite reaction away from the topic in the succeeding congresses" (p. 502). While there was a decline, this did not take place just after the 1892 meeting. Commenting on the "assault of all type of occultists, spiritists, theosophists, etc.," in the fourth congress, Nicolas (2002:152) believed that such presence led to the disappearance of the topic in later meetings. When we compare the fourth and the fi fth congresses, it is evident that there was a decline of discussions of psychic phenomena, something particularly noticeable after the fi fth meeting, which has been described as the "offi cial evacuation" of the topic (Marmin 2001:157). There were, of course, some exceptions in later meetings. Among them were single papers about the claim to have shown "that a nervous radiation or effl uence from the human body exists" (Alrutz 1924:260, at the 1923 congress), and a discussion of phenomena involving changes of personality, including mediumship (Oesterreich 1927, at the 1926 congress). But these papers stood alone in the congresses between many discussions of psychological topics. The days of having psychical research as an important part of the psychology congresses were gone, as seen in the absence of the topic in later congresses (e.g., Boring 1930).

As psychology became more organized as an academic fi eld, it was easier, and desirable (according to one's perspective), to delimit the content of the discipline. It was one thing to have occasional discussions of psychic phenomena in journals (e.g., James 1896, Richet 1884), and quite another to allow psychic phenomena to be part of the subject matter of psychology. Because the congresses represented a process of identity formation and professionalization for psychology, it was important to purge the content of the fi eld of what was considered to have little respectability and scientifi c content. This content consisted of phenomena such as telepathy and mediumship, which were reminiscent of prenineteenth-century spiritual, occult, and supernatural traditions that were alien to the new psychology. Furthermore, as argued by Coon (1992), these topics were considered by most psychologists to be a "malevolent ghost preventing public confi dence in scientifi c naturalism" (p. 149).

A later commentator, parapsychologist Joseph Banks Rhine (1895– 1980), argued that because psychology was trying to get accepted into academia it needed to neglect diffi cult-to-measure phenomena. In his view the psychologist "needed to choose his ground with care and confi ne himself to research material that was manageable" (Rhine 1968:104).

Like Rhine, others have argued that part of the reason behind the rejection of psychic phenomena as processes more than conventional mechanisms was related to the professionalization of psychology. That is, by presenting themselves as the only group with the proper knowledge and training to handle such problems,

they were justifying their existence and purpose in society and eliminating the competition in matters related to human experience and behavior (Brown 1983, Coon 1992, Parot 1994, Wolffram 2009). However, we cannot ignore the fact that psychic phenomena represented more than a threat to a professional image. Psychical research was, from the beginning, a problem for those psychologists who, convinced of the limits they had set on sensory-motor interaction, were not willing to consider that humans could interact in different ways. If telepathy implied that "the mind of the individual organism no longer appears as inevitably isolated from all other minds" (McDougall 1912:223), then this was a challenge to the idea that the mind was alive or active only within the confi nes of the nervous system. In a psychology where the brain and the rest of the nervous system reign supreme, such ideas were not only controversial, they were a challenge to the current physiological paradigm.

This paradigm was clearly in place in discussions of the topic of hallucinations that was so important during the fi rst two congresses (for an overview see Berrios 1996:Chapter 3). Based on physiological and psychological factors, these concepts were hardly open to telepathic infl uences.

In addition to the issue of professionalization and the threat to the materialistic paradigm, which probably were the main reasons for the resistance of psychologists to psychical research, there may have been other factors infl uencing the decline of the topic in later congresses. One of them was the similar decline of hypnosis papers in later meetings. Because sessions devoted to this topic were, on occasion, one of the few protective coverings that provided a place for psychic phenomena in psychology when no other areas fulfi lled that function (e.g., Crocq 1900:Chapters 11, 12, 18, 19, Liébeault 1889:Part 2, Chapters 3–6), such a decline could have eliminated one of the main contexts in which the psychic was discussed by psychologists.

Another factor may have been the death of two important SPR fi gures, Henry Sidgwick (in 1900) and Frederic W. H. Myers (in 1901). They were both moving forces, one in organization of work (Sidgwick) and the other in theory development (Myers). As Gauld (1968) has argued, the loss of these men affected the course of the SPR, and of psychical research. While this affected the development of psychical research in England, and probably changed the infl uence of the SPR in other places, enough has been said in this paper to make clear that the SPR's work concerned with the supernormal was never completely accepted by psychologists. Consequently, it is doubtful that the situation would have been different if the life of the early SPR leaders would have been longer.[39] Their work was continued by others such as James H. Hyslop (1854–1920), Oliver J. Lodge (1851–1940), Enrico Morselli (1852–1929) and others mentioned already (e.g., Flournoy, James, Ochorowicz, Richet, Schrenck-Notzing). These, and other individuals, kept psychical research alive after the 1905 congress but were not successful in integrating it into psychology, or into science at large.[40]

While discussions of psychical research did not disappear completely from forums of psychological discussion such as conferences and journals, its presence diminished considerably after the fi rst fi ve international congresses. Psychology journals still carried some discussions on the topic, but most of them were negative toward psychical research (e.g., Troland 1914), as seen as well in reviews of the many books (e.g., Janet 1923, Jones 1910). Eventually the fi eld became more separated from
psychology, developing its own journals and congresses.[41]

In reality, the presence of psychic topics in the congresses was never a seal of approval from the growing fi eld of psychology during the period of the above-mentioned meetings. Instead, the congresses represented the struggles of psychical researchers for recognition and, as Parot (1994) has argued, the separation of psychical research and psychology. Similarly, in his discussion of the congresses, Nuttin (1992) referred to the "separation of scientifi c psychology from elements that risked to contaminate it" (p. 8).

Some modern psychologists have discussed psychic phenomena in the congresses, seemingly adopting the perspective that the disappearance of psychical research was a desirable outcome leading to the formation of scientifi c psychology (e.g., Nicolas 2002, Nuttin 1992). But such view is at odds with aspects of the modern historiography of psychology.

Ellenberger's infl uential study *The Discovery of the Unconscious* (1970) alerted us to the importance of theorization and research on the phenomena discussed in this paper—as well as to the movements of mesmerism and Spiritism—as factors contributing to the development of the concept of the subconscious mind. Later studies have presented a similar perspective, one that places interest in topics such as telepathy and

mediumship as agents of infl uence, as opposed to simple obstacles that had to be eliminated for the development of psychology as a science (e.g., Alvarado 2002, Crabtree 1993, Plas 2000, Shamdasani 1993).

Furthermore, while the disappearance of psychical research from the congresses is related to an attempt to take psychology into specifi c directions devoid of spiritualistic conceptions of human nature, and thus is a historical example of rejection and depuration of a fi eld, we need to remember that the topics discussed at the congress were infl uential in other ways. For one, they contributed to the database of phenomena that contributed to the construction of the concept of dissociation (e.g., Alvarado 2002, Alvarado & Krippner 2010). The SPR study of hallucinations, as recognized by skeptic Moll (1889/1890), was a signifi cant contribution to the furthering of empirical knowledge on the prevalence and phenomenology of hallucinations, regardless of the rejection of the telepathic component (see Le Maléfan & Sommer 2015). Other contributions to psychology and psychiatry came from the study of mediumship, as seen in Flournoy's studies of subliminal imagination, and from other observations leading to specifi c diagnoses and the concept of automatisms (Alvarado, Maraldi, Machado, & Zangari 2014, Le Maléfan 1999). This is instructive in that it illustrates how marginal movements, the periphery, or what has been rejected, can have an impact on the mainstream, or the core of a fi eld such as psychology.

Notes

[1] Further examples are discussed by other authors, among them Alvarado (2014), Coon (1992), Le Maléfan (1999), and Sommer (2012, 2013).

[2] Nineteenth-century French work on hypnosis has been discussed by Carroy (1991), Crabtree (1993), and Gauld (1992). Nicolas (2004) focuses on the controversies between the Salpêtrière and Nancy schools of hypnosis. On French interest in personality and dissociation, see Foschi (2003) and Nicolas (2002).

[3] There are several discussions of the psychology congresses (Benjamin, Jr., & Baker 2012, Claparède 1930, Evrard 2016, Montoro, Carpintero & Tortosa 1983, Montoro, Tortosa, & Carpintero 1992, Nicolas 2002, Nuttin 1992, Piéron 1954, Rosenzweig, Holtzman, Sabourin, & Bélanger 2000, Taves 2014). It has been suggested that the congresses were affected as well by the infl uence of scientifi c societies and the meetings of other disciplines and by the impetus provided by the universal expositions (Nicolas 2002). Shore (2001) argues that these, and other congresses, developed in the context of the values and concerns of modernity.

[4] Ochorowicz has been discussed by Domanski (2003). He made several contributions to the psychical research literature (e.g., Ochorowicz 1887, 1909). His 1881 paper has been discussed by Nicolas and Söderlund (2005).

[5] There are studies of developments in Italy (Biondi 1988), France (Lachapelle 2011), the United States (Moore 1977), England (Oppenheim 1985), and Germany (Wolffram 2009). The history of the early SPR is chronicled by Gauld (1968).

[6] Myers' important work on the subliminal mind, and on psychical research, was discussed in detail for the fi rst time by Gauld (1968:38–44, 89–114, 116–136, Chapters 12–13). See also Crabtree (1993:Chapter 16), and Kelly (2007). On Myers in general, see Hamilton (2009).

[7] Aspects of Richet's physiological and medical career are reviewed by Wolf (1993). For his psychical research, see my overview (Alvarado 2016), as well as Brower (2010:Chapter 3), Evrard (2016:Chapter 5), and Le Maléfan (1999:85–88, 2002).

[8] In addition to the congress proceedings, see various other reports (James 1889a, Marillier 1889, A. T. Myers 1889).

[9] Marmin (2001:150–155) refers to Richet as the "main artisan" for the rapprochement between psychology and psychical research. This was possible due to the mediating infl uence of Richet's high social, intellectual, and scientifi c prestige. Richet was well-known in psychical research circles before 1889 (e.g., Richet 1884, 1888). On Sidgwick, see Schultz (2004).

[10] On Marillier, see Le Maléfan and Sommer (2015). Eventually the SPR published a detailed report of the study conducted in England (Sidgwick et al. 1894; see also Denning 1994). Somewhat later, James (e.g., 1890a, 1890b) was publishing letters in the United States asking for cooperation for the American part of the project.

[11] On Gurney, see Epperson's (1997) biography. The experiments by Gurney mentioned by Myers were part of the late Nineteenth-century magnetic movement (Alvarado 2009b).

[12] For information on this congress, see, in addition to its proceedings, several other reports (International Congress of Experimental Psychology 1892b, Macdonald 1892, H. Sidgwick 1892a, Sidgwick & Myers 1892). Sully (1918:230) wrote that he represented the "orthodox branch," while Myers "was to look after the Psychical Research Department."

[13] On Wundt, see Bringmann and Tweney (1980), and Rieber (1980). He was by no means a friend of psychical research nor of Spiritualism (Wundt 1879, 2000/1892, see also Kohls & Sommer 2006 and Marshall & Went 1980; I owe the 2006 reference to Andreas Sommer). Carroy and Schmidgen (2006) suggest that Wundt was defensive because he may have felt that his approach to psychology could be marginalized. Janet (1892:611) actually stated that SPR members kept a low profi le in the conference program. Nonetheless, Nuttin (1992) has argued that psychical research came to "dominate the scene and the personal orientation of the organizers" (p. 51). Considering the overall program of the congress, this assertion seems an exaggeration.

[14] On Franklin, see Scarborough and Furumoto (1987:Chapter 5). She presented a paper at the 1892 congress (Franklin 1892).

[15] For longer discussions published in the SPR *Proceedings*, see Myers (1892b) and Sidgwick, Sidgwick, and Smith (1889). On Mrs. Sidgwick's life and psychical research, see E. Sidgwick (1938). Before 1892 the SPR had conducted and published many experiments on the subject (see the overviews of Luckhurst, 2002:Chapter 2, and Podmore 1894).

[16] The congress was discussed in various reports (Buchner 1896, Franz 1896, H. Sidgwick 1896, Titchener 1896). Stumpf is discussed by Boring (1950:362–371).

[17] Parish (1894/1897:Chapters 3, 9) discussed the SPR's work with hallucinations and was skeptical of telepathy. For discussions of his views, see James (1897).

[18] H. Sidgwick's (1897a; see also H. Sidgwick, 1897b) paper was an analysis and a reply to Hansen and Lehmann's (1895) reduction of telepathy to unconscious whispering. On Liébeault's career in hypnosis, see Carrer (2002). Liébeault wrote about psychic phenomena in several publications (Alvarado 2009a)

[19] I am grateful to Niko Kohls for this reference.

[20] The proceedings of the 1900 congress were the fi rst ones to have an editor's name in its title page. They were edited by Janet. Reports of the congress include Quatrième Congrès International de Psychologie (1900), van Eeden (1900), Warren (1900), and Woodworth (1900).

[21] Richet investigated Pepito Rodríguez Arriola, a Spanish boy 3½ years old who could play the piano and compose music without formal instruction (see also A Musical Prodigy 1901). Prince's report was about the famous Beauchamp multiple personality case (Prince 1906).

[22] There are brief discussions of this organization in the works of Brower (2010:Chapter 3), Méheust (1999b:146–147), and Plas (2000:137–138, 147–150).

[23] Hélène Smith was the pseudonym of Élise Catherine Müller (1861– 1929). Her mediumship was discussed in more detail by Flournoy (1900). The case, and Flournoy's psychical research work, has been discussed by Alvarado, Maraldi, Machado, and Zangari (2014), and by Shamdasani (1994).

[24] The SPR *Proceeedings* reprinted Myers's paper about Thompson, and published longer versions of the other two papers (Myers 1902, van Eeden 1902, Verrall 1902). Myers had died by the time the papers appeared in the *Proceedings*.

[25] Bernheim, the leader of the Nancy school of hypnosis, published many important works (e.g., Bernheim 1884). He is discussed by Gauld (1992:324–337) and by Nicolas (2004:Chapter 3). His skeptical attitude about psychic phenomena can be seen in publications that appeared before the congress (Bernheim 1884:56, 1888).

[26] This refers to the idea that forces related to the body's vital processes could be projected at a distance to cause phenomena such as movement of objects without contact, and materializations, and to late mesmeric ideas (Alvarado 2006, 2009b).

[27] The books of Delanne (1897) and Denis (1893) have longer discussions of the ideas these men presented during the congress. French Spiritism is discussed by Edelman (1995) and Sharp (2006).

[28] Example of these imprints are discussed by de Rochas (1898). On Palladino's career and her infl uence on psychical research, see Alvarado (1993).

[29] The expression "experimental psychology" was used in different ways during the nineteenth century. Janet (1889) used it in the title of one of his main works referring in part to hypnotically induced phenomena, as did Binet (1888), who also discussed hysterical writing. While some, like Wundt, defi ned the topic in terms of laboratories and measurement, Myers (1886) did not follow such limits and referred to empirical studies that did not depend on metaphysical speculation nor solely on introspection. Years later, Myers (1894) described psychical research as the "left wing of Experimental Psychology" (p. 731). In addition to the use of "experimental psychology," we also need to be aware that French spiritists used the words psychology, psychological, and experimental frequently before the congress. Allan Kardec (the pseudonym of Hippolyte Léon Dénizard Rivail, 1804–1869) used the word experimental, as seen in the cover page of one of his main books (Kardec 1863). His journal, *Revue Spirite*, fi rst published in 1858, was subtitled "Journal of Psychological Studies." Referring to spiritist phenomena, Denis (1893:215) used the expression "psychological studies" and Delanne (1897) used physiological psychology. Similar uses can be found in the English-language spiritualist literature (e.g., Barkas 1876). See Binet's (1894:495, footnote) complaint about what he perceived were the psychical researcher's attempts to use the term "psychic" as a synonym of psychological.

[30] Spiritists discussed the congress as a victory for their movement in spiritist publications. An example was Denis (1902:32, no date:30), who saw the 1900 congress as evidence that spiritism was starting to get into the "fortress " of science. In his view, "in spite of the hostility of the organizers," an unnamed member of the conference committee could not help but say that they were invaded by spiritism (Denis 1902:32). Delanne (1902), while aware of the opposition, believed the event to have been a "memorable date in the history of our doctrine" (p. 40), a day representing the entrance of spiritism into the offi cial world of science. In a later commentary, probably written by Delanne, it was stated that Ribot, Janet, and their associates "announced contemptuously their intention to outlaw in later Congresses all communications which purpose was the study of psychic phenomena" (anonymous editorial note in Carreras 1905:654).

[31] In the same letter, dated August 7, 1900, Flournoy told James that while some individuals wanted to include psychic phenomena among the subject matter of the institute, Pierre Janet said he would be associated with the institute "only with the very fi xed idea that it would not be concerned with occultism, spiritism, etc." (Le Clair 1966:104).

[32] On Vaschide, see Herseni (1965) and Nicolas (2002:173–174). Vaschide (1902) later expressed skepticism about the existence of telepathic hallucinations.

[33] For biographical information, see Klatzo with Zu Rhein (2002).

[34] Examples of modern sociological studies relevant to boundary work and parapsychology include Collins and Pinch (1982) and Pinch and Collins (1984). See also Sommer's (2012, 2013) historical work.

[35] The SPR continuously engaged in boundary-work through reviews of works by other students of psychic phenomena (e.g., Leaf 1893, Myers 1898).

[36] See also Carreras (1905) and Piéron's (1905) reports.

[37] On this paper, see Alvarado (2011).

[38] Gasc Defossés (1907) and Favre (1904, 1905) published longer accounts of their studies.

[39] Myers was an important loss due to his particular emphasis on integrating psychology and psychical research, as seen in his well-known posthumously published book *Human Personality and Its Survival of Bodily Death* (Myers 1903). With some exceptions (e.g., James 1903), most psychologists rejected Myers' ideas about the supernormal and survival of death (e.g., Review 1903, Riley 1903).

[40] For discussions of Twentieth-century developments, see Inglis (1984), Mauskopf and McVaugh (1980), Méheust (1999b), and Zingrone (2010). Some examples of later psychological studies include those of Coover (1917), Morselli (1908), Osty (1926), and Mrs. H. Sidgwick (1915). [41] There were fi ve psychical research congresses held in Copenhagen (1921), Warsaw (1923), Paris (1927), Athens (1930), and Oslo (1935). While there were attempts to standardize the fi eld in some of them regarding things such as terminology, there were many differences and confl icts along national and conceptual lines that limited the usefulness of the meetings (Lachapelle 2005). Some of the journals created which helped the fi eld to develop were the *Journal of the American Society for Psychical Research* (1907), the *Revue Métapsychique* (1920, fi rst called

Bulletin de l'Institut Métapsychique International), the *Zeitschrift für Parapsychologie* (1926, which continued the *Psychische Studien*), and the *Journal of Parapsychology* (1937) (Alvarado, Biondi, & Kramer 2006).

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